

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1878

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 GABORONE 0854

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV RH BC

SUBJ: RHODESIA: DISCUSSION BETWEEN MINISTER MOGWE AND
CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ ON MEETING OF FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS

1. SUMMARY: NINETY-MINUTE MEETING MARCH 27 WITH CONGRESSMAN
STEPHEN SOLARZ WAS DEVOTED LARGELY TO RHODESIA. EXTAFF
MINISTER ARCHIE MOGWE REVIEWED DEVELOPMENTS AT MEETING OF
FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS (FLPS) AND PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF) AT
DAR MARCH 25-26. DISCUSSION AND SPECULATION CENTERED ON THREE
ASPECTS: (A) PROSPECTS FOR RESUMED MALTA AND ALL-PARTIES
CONFERENCE; (B) GOVERNMENT OF BOTSWANA'S (GOB) VIEWS ON
INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA; AND (C) COMPARATIVE STRENGTH
OF PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS IN RHODESIA. CONCLUSIONS IN BRIEF:
(A) PF WANTS CONTINUATION OF MALTA CONFERENCE ON MILITARY
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MATTERS (WITHOUT SALISBURY REPS) AFTER WHICH PF WOULD BE
PREPARED TO ATTEND ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE; (B) GOB BELIVES
INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WILL NOT STOP THE WAR. IF ELECTION OR
REFERENDUM WERE HELD ON BASIS OF SETTLEMENT, GOB WOULD TRY TO
COMMUNICATE ITS DOUBTS TO THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE; (C) GOB IS
UNSURE WHO WOULD WIN AN AAP-SPONSORED ELECTION IN RHODESIA.
MOGWE DESCRIBED THE THEME OF THE DAR MEETING AS ADVICE TO

PF TO "CONCENTRATE ON THE ELECTIONS, RETURN TO RHODESIA AND CAMPAIGN". BRIEF DISCUSSION ON SOUTH AFRICA REPORTED SEPTEL. LUSAKA PLEASE PASS COPY TO REPRESENTATIVE SOLAR. END SUMMARY.

2. SETTING. MINEXTAFF MOGWE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY EXTAFF PERMSEC MPOTOKWANE, PRESIDENTIAL PRIVATE SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS LEGWAILA AND DEPUTY PERMSEC MOGAMI. I ACCOMPANIED REPRESENTATIVE SOLARZ. MOGWE AND LEGWAILA HAD RETURNED THE PREVIOUS DAY FROM DAR WHERE THEY HAD ACCOMPANIED PRESIDENT KHAMA AT FLP MEETING. AFTER ONLY 48 HOURS BACK IN TOWN, MOGWE SAID HE WOULD BE OFF AGAIN MARCH 28 FOR FONMINS MEETING IN LAGOS. INTENSIVE 90-MINUTE DISCUSSION STIMULATED BY SOLARZ' QUESTIONS ELICITED GOB VIEWS AND REACTIONS ON FLP MEETING IN DAR, INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT AND INTERNAL RHODESIAN DEVELOPMENTS.

3. CONFERENCE PROSPECTS: MALTA AND ALL-PARTIES. REP SOLARZ OPENED BY NOTING THAT PF SAY THEY ACCEPT ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS (AAP); IN FACT, THEY DON'T, E.G., THEY REJECT RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S (RESCOM) AUTHORITY. CAN THE FL DO SOMETHING TO GET PF TO ACCEPT THE AAP, SOLARZ ASKED. MOGWE REPLIED THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA HAVE MADE PF "KEEN" ON MEETING TO FOLLOW UP MALTA. ACCORDING TO MOGWE, PF HAD THE IMPRESSION UK AND US "WOULD GET BACK TO THEM" BUT NOTHING HAS HAPPENED. AS FOR PF ATTITUDE TO AAP, MOGWE SAID PF ADMIT THEY WANTED A "COUNCIL" AND OPPOSED RESCOM. HOWEVER, FLPS REMINDED PF THAT AT GENEVA

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THEY THEMSELVES CALLED FOR A RESCOM EMBODYING THE AUTHORITY OF THE COLONIAL POWER. THEY POINTED OUT THAT IN ALL TRANSITIONS FROM COLONIAL RULE THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A STRONG COLONIAL "PRESENCE WITH POWER", CITING TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND BOTSWANA AS EXAMPLES. MACHEL HAD ADDED THAT EVEN IN THE CASE OF MOZAMBIQUE DEFENSE POWERS WERE VESTED IN "HIGH COMMISSIONER" (SIC). NYERERE RECALLED HE HAD "INSISTED" THAT MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER REMAIN WITH COLONIAL POWER. MOGWE SUMMED UP SAYING PF HAD IN EFFECT BEEN GIVEN A LECTURE ON HISTORY WHICH "SHOWS THAT IT'S COLONIAL PRACTICE TO LEAVE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE IN THE HANDS OF THE COLONIAL POWER". WITH THAT, PF WAS TOLD TO "REFLECT, THINK IT OVER". IN REPLY TO SOLARZ QUESTION, MOGWE SAID PF SHOWED NO SIGNS OF AGREEING WITH FLP'S ARGUMENTS.

4. NEXT STEPS. MOGWE SAID THE PF VIEW MEETINGS AS COMING IN TWO PHASES: THE FIRST, A CONTINUATION OF MALTA; SECOND, A MEETING WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE WHO, MOGWE COMMENTED, ARE NOW CONSIDERED "IN THE SMITH CAMP, PART OF THE REBEL REGIME". SOLARZ COMMENTED THAT COMMUNIQUE FROM DAR (DAR 1295) CONTAINED NO MENTION OF ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE. DID PF FAVOR IT? MOGWE SAID "YES, THIS IS THEIR POSITION, ALTHOUGH NOT YET

PUBLIC." THE MALTA MEETING WOULD BE TO DISCUSS THE ARMY AND
LOCUS OF "ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY" DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD.
PF TAKE THE VIEW MUZOREWA HAS NO ROLE IN THIS DISCUSSION.
ONCE THOSE QUESTIONS ARE AGREED AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE WOULD
BE HELD TO CONSIDER THE ZIMBABWE CONSTITUTION.

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5. PARTICIPATION, SOLARZ ASKED IF PF WOULD AGREE TO SMITH'S
PRESENCE. MOGWE REPLIED THE PF WOULD AGREE TO "EVERYONE EXCEPT
CHIRAU". SOLARZ ASKED WHETHER, ASSUMING PF COULD BE PUSHED INTO
ACCEPTING AAP, MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE WOULD AGREE TO PARTICIPATE
IN AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE. MOGWE REITERATED THE POINT
THAT "THE PEOPLE IN SALISBURY HAVE JOINED THE ILLEGAL
GOVERNMENT" OF IAN SMITH. IN AAP IT IS SPECIFIED, AND FLPS
WERE INFORMED, THAT ONCE AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON THE AAP,
SMITH WILL BE REMOVED. FLPS ARE WONDERING "HOW SMITH IS GOING
TO BE GOT RID OF?". REP SOLARZ ASKED IF THE PF WOULD ACCEPT
THE AAP AS THEY ARE? MPOTOKWANE REPLIED THE PF WOULD ATTEND
A CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS THEM--WITH THE VIEW, MOGWE ADDED, OF
"MAKING MODIFICATIONS".

6. ATTENDANCE. MOGWE ASKED WHAT WOULD BE DONE IF MUZOREWA

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AND SITHOLE REFUSE TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE? WHAT STEPS WOULD UK AND US TAKE? SOLARZ ASKED WHAT STEPS WE SHOULD TAKE? AFTER A MOMENT'S HESITATION MPOTOKWANE REPLIED: "SEE THEY GET TO THE CONFERENCE." MOGWE ADDED THAT FROM THE BEGINNING THE UK AND US HAD DISCUSSED AAP WITH THE PF, NEVER WITH THE SALISBURY GROUP. IN EVENT OF RECALCITRANCE, MOGWE SUGGESTED WE TELL SOUTH AFRICA TO PRESSURE SMITH TO ATTEND. HE THOUGH THIS WOULD HELP.

7. UN ROLE. SOLARZ ASKED IF NKOMO AND MUGABE HAD COMMENTED ON THE QUESTION OF A UN PRESENCE. MOGWE REPLIED THE FLPS HAD SPOKEN IN FAVOR OF UN PRESENCE AND UN FORCE, NOTING PARENTHETICALLY THAT NUJOMA (WHO ONCE DISLIKED THE IDEA) IS NOW CALLING FOR A STRONG UN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA. MOGWE ACKNOWLEDGED THE PF HAS NOT WANTED A UN FORCE. NOW THEY KNOW THE FLPS' VIEWS AND ARE "THINKING IT OVER". ASKED IF THERE IS A SCHEDULE FOR PF REPORTING BACK ON THIS TO FLPS, MOGWE SAID NO.

8. ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. SOLARZ TURNED TO QUESTION OF HOW PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE FEEL ABOUT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, WHICH IS DENOUNCED ON ONE HAND, PRAISED ON THE OTHER. MOGWE'S COMMENT: "YOUR GUESS IS AS GOOD AS MINE." HE EXPLAINED THAT MUZOREWA CAN OBVIOUSLY DRAW A CROWD. WHAT WE DON'T KNOW IS HOW BIG A CROWD NKOMO OR MUGABE COULD DRAW. MOGWE NOTED MUZOREWA ALWAYS HOLDS HIS MEETINGS IN THE SAME AREA, THE HIGHVELDT. HOW WELL WOULD HE DO IN THE WESTERN PART OF RHODESIA, IN BULAWAYO OR PLUMTREE WHERE NKOMO IS STRONG? THE ONLY WAY TO DECIDE, MOGWE SAID, IS BY ELECTIONS. REP SOLARZ SAID HE THOUGHT WE WOULD SOON FACE A DIFFICULT DILEMMA. OUR AIM ALL ALONG HAS BEEN MAJORITY RULE. IF SMITH AND COMPANY PROCEED TO HOLD A REFERENDUM AND/OR ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE, IF FOREIGN AND OTHER JOURNALISTS REPORT THAT A MAJORITY IN THE COUNTRY SUPPORT THE SALISBURY REGIME, AND FURTHER ASSUMING THAT THIS ELECTORAL SUPPORT IS GIVEN DESPITE OPEN PF PRESSURES FOR
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ABSTENTION, THEN HE FEARED THE BASIS FOR CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WOULD "EVAPORATE". PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UK AND THE US WOULD SAY, "IF THE ZIMBABWEANS WANT IT, LET IT BE." WHAT WOULD THE GOB THINK IN SUCH AN EVENT, SOLARZ ASKED. MOGWE SAID HIS FIRST REACTION WOULD BE TO QUESTION WHETHER THE PEOPLE REALLY UNDERSTOOD WHAT THEY WERE DOING, WHAT THE IMPLICATIONS WERE OF THEIR JUDGMENT. HIS SECOND REACTION WOULD BE TO OPENLY QUESTION WHETHER IN FACT THERE WOULD BE MAJORITY RULE. IS IT MAJORITY RULE, HE ASKED, IF A MINORITY

HAS A VETO FOR TEN YEARS? IF 28 PERCENT OF THE SEATS ARE ENTRENCHED? ON THE OTHER HAND, SAID MOGWE, IF NKOMO AND MUGABE CONSENTED TO THE ARRANGEMENT HE WOULD LET THEM GO AHEAD. "IF ALL THE RHODESIAN PARTIES WOULD AGREE, NO ONE WOULD SAY THEY WERE WRONG." MOGWE ACKNOWLEDGED THINGS COULD REACH THE STAGE WHERE OUTSIDERS WOULD SAY: "LET THEM LIVE WITH IT." MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, MOGWE THOUGHT BOTSWANA HAD AN OBLIGATION TO LET PEOPLE KNOW THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT IS A CONTINUATION OF THE SMITH REGIME. ASKED AGAIN IF FL AND OTHERS WOULD ACCEPT AN AGREEMENT IF A MAJORITY IN ZIMBABWE ACCEPTED IT, MOGWE SAID HE WOULD TRY TO AVOID SUCH A SITUATION BY TELLING PEOPLE THEIR INDEPENDENCE WAS NOT GENUINE. BUT IF A REFERENDUM SHOWS SUPPORT, SOLARZ CONTINUED, AND IF YOU HAVE AN ELECTION AND OVERWHELMING VOTE, IF RACIAL LEGISLATION IS REPEALED, PROTECTIVE SETTLEMENTS DISMANTLED, DETAINEES RELEASED (THINGS WHICH THE PARLIAMENT UNDER THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT COULD NOT PREVENT), THEN WHAT WOULD BOTSWANA DO? WOULD GOB CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PF? MOGWE REPLIED "WE'LL THINK ABOUT THAT QUESTION WHEN THE TIME COMES."

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FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1880

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

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9. THE WAR. SOLARZ ASKED WHETHER, EVEN IF A MAJORITY

ACCEPTED THE AGREEMENT, THE WAR COULD CONTINUE FOR A LONG TIME. MOGWE SAID IT WAS INDEED POSSIBLE; LOOK AT ANGOLA AND CHAD. LEGWAILA INTERVENED TO SAY THAT THE OBJECTIVE IS TO STOP THE WAR AND PEOPLE DYING. THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT CAN'T DO THAT. THE PF ARE FIGHTING AND WILL APPARENTLY CONTINUE TO FIGHT. IT WOULD BE NO SOLUTION FOR MUZOREWA TO WIN AN ELECTION ONLY TO HAVE THE PF LATER OVERTHROW HIM BECAUSE THEY WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE SETTLEMENT. SOLARZ NOTED GOB INTEREST IN ENDING THE FIGHTING AND ESTABLISHING MAJORITY RULE. IF THE SALISBURY SOLUTION SHOULD BECOME ACCEPTABLE AND THE PF CONTINUES TO REJECT IT, AND SINCE PF CAN'T CONTINUE WITHOUT FL SUPPORT, WHAT ACTION WOULD FL STATES THEN TAKE? "I DON'T KNOW", MOGWE REPLIED, ADDING THAT THE OBJECTIVE REMAINS GENERAL ELECTIONS. BOTSWANA WOULD ACCEPT ANYONE CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE. IF PF INDEED PERSISTED
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IN ITS OPPOSITION IN THE FACE OF GENUINE ELECTIONS, MOGWE WOULD TELL THEM THEY HAD BEEN WANRED AND HAD MISSED THEIR CHANCE, THAT THE FL WOULD NOT CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PF FOR THE PURPOSE OF INDUCTING THEM INTO POSITIONS OF POWER. SOLARZ RECALLED THAT NYERERE HAD TOLD THE PF THAT "IF MUZOREWA WINS, I'LL SUPPORT THE BISHOP".

10. ELECTIONS. THIS PROMPTED MOGWE TO COMMENT THAT HE THOUGHT THE THEME OF THE DAR MEETING WAS THAT THE PF HAD BETTER GO BACK TO RHODESIA TO CAMPAIGN, CONCENTRATE ON THE ELECTIONS, ALLOW OTHERS TO DO THE SAME, AND OPT FOR A UN PRESENCE. WOULD ANY ELECTION HELD UNDER THE INTERNAL TETTLEMENT BE DISCREDITED, SOLARZ ASKEDJM MOGWE'S REPLY WAS YES; IT WOULD ALSO BE "STEALING THE MARCH" ON THOSE STILL OUTSIDE. SOLARZ ASKED WHAT YOU TELL THE BISHOP IF HE AGREES TO AN ELECTION UNDER THE AAP (ON THE ASSUMPTION HE WOULD WIN); THE AAP ALSO PROVIDE THAT ZIMBABWE ARMED FORCES WILL BE BASED ON THE PF. SUPPOSE THE INTERIM PERIOD ENDS, THE BISHOP WINS THE ELECTION AND MUGABE AND NKOMO STAGE A COUP? WOULD THE UK AND US INTER- VENE? MOGWE REPLIED THAT THE AAP'S OBJECTIVE CONCERNING THE MILITARY IS TO NEUTRALIZE THE ARMED FORCES, TO FORM A ZIMBABWEAN ARMY. HE WOULD EXPECT IT WOULD BE A TRUE NATIONAL ARMY BE VIRTUE OF SHARING OF POSITIONS WITH PF, BY ITS TRAINING AND MISSION. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD SUPPORT ANY NEW PRESIDENT OF ZIMBABWE. SOLARZ ASKED WHO WOULD WIN AN ELECTION TODAY IN RHODESIA? MOGWE REPLIED THAT HE HAD NO IDEA. GIVEN THE RIVALRIES, SOLARZ ASKED, IF THE GOB FEARED OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING BETWEEN ZAPU AND ZANU FORCES? MOGWE SAID HIS "OFF-THE-RECORD REPLY" WOULD BE THAT THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE WHO FOSTER THIS IDEA. IT IS TRUE THERE IS A DANGER. THE PF IS AN ALLIANCE; IT IS NOT UNIFIED. THE FLPS HAVE BEEN TRYING TO GET THEIR ARMIES TO UNITE SINCE 1974. THE WAR HAS GIVEN THEM A COMMON ENEMY--"LIKE MAO AND CHIANG". BUT WE WOULD BE "KIDDING OURSELVES", MOGWE CON-
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TINUED, IF WE THINK THEY'LL BE "TOGETHER IN PEACETIME".

11. ZAPU-ZANU DIFFERENCES. SOLARZ ASKED WHAT DIFFERENCES ARE BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU? WERE THEY IDEOLOGICAL? TRIBAL? PERSONAL RIVALRIES? MOGWE SAID HE DIDN'T THINK MKOMO AND MUGABE THEMSELVES KNEW THE ANSWER. PERHAPS IT WAS THE SOURCES OF THEIR ASSISTANCE THAT SEPARATE THEM. BOTH CLAIM TO BE SOCIALISTS. MOGWE CONCLUDED IT WAS TRIBALISM MORE THAN IDEOLOGY. PERSONAL RIVALRIES WERE NATURAL--RIVALRIES THAT EXTEND TO THEIR FOLLOWERS. SOLARZ ASKED WHICH FORCE IS STRONGEST MILITARILY? MOGWE SAID IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT NKOMO HAS PUT TOGETHER A POWERFUL ARMY AND HAS CAUGHT UP IN STRENGTH WITH MUGABE. THE LATTER HAS DONE THE MOST FIGHTING; NKOMO HAS NOT COMMITTED HIS FORCES. SOLARZ ASKED ABOUT THE TRUTH OF REPORTS OF FIGHTING BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU. MOGWE SAID HE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY RECENT REPORTS; SOME TIME AGO THERE WERE STORIES OF FIGHTING IN CAMPS. MOGWE AGREED WITH SOLARZ' COMMENT THAT NKOMO SEEMS TO BE IN FIRMER COMMAND THAN MUGABE, ATTRIBUTING IT TO NKOMO'S POLITICAL BASE IN ZIMBABWE, SOMETHING MUGABE DOES NOT HAVE. MOGWE THOUGHT MUGABE'S LARGER COMMITMENT OF TROOPS MIGHT BE A REFLECTION OF THIS LACK OF A POLITICAL BASE.

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INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

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12. CONCLUSION. SUMMARIZING DISCUSSION ON RHODESIA, SOLARZ SAID GOB IS COMMITTED TO THE AAP; FLPS HAVE TOLD PF TO RE-CONSIDER AAP. WHAT IF THEY DON'T ACCEPT RESCOM AND UN PRESENCE, FOR EXAMPLE; THEN WHAT? MOGWE'S REPLY: "THAT WOULD BE A NEW DEVELOPMENT." THE PF WOULD RISK "MISSING THE BOAT"; THEY WOULD BE WARNED. FLPS WOULD HAVE TO STUDY THE SITUATION WHICH "WE'LL BE MONITORING CLOSELY" TO SEE "WHO HAS BEEN INTRANSIGENT". IF THE PF SHOULD "PLAY THE FOOL" IN BEING NEGATIVE, THE FLPS WOULD KNOW WHERE THE RESPONSIBILITY LIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE PF APPEARS TO BE IN THE RIGHT, THE FLPS WOULDN'T WITHDRAW SUPPORT. THE FLPS ARE URGING THE PF TO DISCUSS THE AAP SERIOUSLY. THE PF STALLED BEFORE; THEY DIDN'T WANT TO GO TO MALTA, JUST AS NUJOMA DIDN'T WANT TO GO TO NEW YORK. THE FLPS TOLD THEM THEY HAD TO GO TO MALTA AND TO NEW YORK--JUST AS IN 1976 THEY HAD TO TELL MUZOREWA HE HAD TO GO TO GENEVA. IF IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE FACE OF THIS THE PF IS UNREASONABLE, THE FLPS WILL NOT STAND BY THEM.

13. FOR LUSAKA. PLEASE PASS A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE TO REP SOLARZ IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS REQUEST.
NORLAND

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Message Attributes

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